

SIXTY YEARS OF URBAN PLANNING IN THE ALHAMBRA: FROM THE 1951 ALIGNMENT PLAN TO THE ALHAMBRA HERITAGE PRESERVATION PLAN

SESENTA AÑOS DE PLANEAMIENTO EN LA ALHAMBRA:
DEL PLAN DE ALINEACIONES DE 1951 AL PLAN ESPECIAL
DE PROTECCIÓN Y CATÁLOGO DEL SECTOR ALHAMBRA

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RESUMEN El conjunto de la Alhambra y el Generalife abarca el monumento y su entorno y también la zona urbana de borde con la ciudad histórica, que debe ser regulada por el planeamiento urbanístico. En este trabajo se aborda el tratamiento que han hecho de esta zona los sucesivos planes. Los Planes de 1951 y 1973 siguen la técnica urbanística de la «zonificación». El Plan General de 1985 pormenoriza las calificaciones urbanísticas, incluyendo ya un amplio Catálogo, mientras que el primer Plan de la Alhambra y Aljares de 1989 considera la catalogación una calificación más. El Plan General de 2001, revisión del de 1985, asigna la misma calificación a zonas de la ciudad tipológicamente muy diferentes. El trabajo concluye con la necesidad de un alto nivel de precisión en el planeamiento de los conjuntos históricos, como deberá hacer el Plan Especial de protección y Catálogo del Sector Alhambra que se está tramitando.

PALABRAS CLAVE Planeamiento urbanístico; Conjuntos históricos; Tipo arquitectónico

ABSTRACT The complex of the Alhambra and the Generalife includes the monument, its surroundings and the urban area that borders the historical city, all of which must be regulated by urban planning. This study addresses how multiple planning documents produced over the years have approached this area. The 1951 and 1973 Plans adhere to the urban development concept of «zoning». The 1985 Master Plan focused on uses as well as on the formal and volumetric characteristics of buildings, and it included an ample catalogue of listed buildings and assets. The first Plan of the Alhambra and Aljares, from 1989, considered the catalogue of listed heritage assets as a tool for the definition of uses and formal traits. The 2001 Master Plan, which updated the 1985 plan, applied the same definition of uses and formal qualities to areas of the city that were typologically very different. Our conclusion is that planning requires a high level of precision in historic contexts, and that this should be the goal of the Alhambra Heritage Preservation Plan that is currently being written up.

KEY WORDS Urban planning; Historic districts; Architectural type

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This paper is an excerpt of the doctoral dissertation *Aprendiendo de las ruinas: tipo y urbanismo en la Granada del Siglo XVI* presented by the author at the University of Granada and directed by Joaquín Casado de Amezúa Vázquez, PhD Architect. Specifically, it is part of Chapter 3 of the thesis, titled *Type and urban planning in Granada*.

The aim of this study is to address the different approaches that successive planning documents of the city of Granada have had to the Alhambra and its surrounding area, from the 1951 Alignment Plan up until the latest Alhambra Heritage Plan which is currently pending approval. More specifically, it focuses on the urban areas surrounding the monument, taking into special consideration aspects relative to architectural typologies and presenting the graphical representation these issues¹.

THE 1951 ALIGNMENT PLAN

The first plan as such, given the scope of the transformations it led to in the historic center of Granada, is the Alignment Plan² which established sixteen areas with different codes and ordinances. Those that had an impact on the area we are studying were Ordinance I (Historic-Artistic-Preservation of Character) mainly affecting the right-hand side of the Cuesta de Gómez and the Mauror neighborhood, down towards the Campo del Príncipe; Ordinance II (Historic-Artistic-Carmens) including the Churra

neighborhood (on the left bank of the Darro River) and the neighborhoods of Antequeruela and Barranco del Abogado, and Ordinance XVI (Private green spaces-restricted construction) encompassing the Campo de los Mártires (right-hand side of the Cuesta del Caidero, the only part of the city where this ordinance applied). Besides uses and volumes, each of these ordinances established a set of compositional conditions which, in some cases included fixed and regulated elevations. As for the Alhambra itself and its immediate surroundings, no specific ordinances were assigned to it (IL. 1).

Ordinance I (Historic-Artistic-Preservation of Character) established very compact building regulations, defining their height—two to four storeys—depending on the width of the street, allowing a very high lot occupancy rate and only determining the minimum size of courtyards to an area of 7 sqm and a side of 2.5 m. In contrast, Ordinances II (Historic-Artistic-Carmens) and XVI (Private green spaces-restricted construction) defined rather open building conditions, establishing the maximum height at 2 or 3 storeys and a lot occupancy of 20% and 10% respectively³.

This plan proposed a series of urban renewal interventions in other parts of the city, such as the conclusion of what it called the Gran Vía Liberal, joining Postigo Velutti and Malaga streets, but more importantly, the continuation of Gran Vía crossing the neighborhood of San Matías, both of which would be considered highly destructive nowadays⁴. It also proposed a “new access to the Alhambra” that began on Camino Nuevo del Cementario and crossed the Carmen de los Mártires.

1. All of the illustrations are reproductions by the author based on documents from the archives of the Planning Department of the Granada City Council

2. Written up by the architect Miguel Olmedo Collantes and implemented by the Granada City Council with Antonio Gallego y Burín as Major in 1951.

3. JUSTE OCAÑA points out that “zoning was carried out by building typologies and not uses... the urban planner divided the city into 16 sectors and, through its Ordinances, indicated uses, volumes, gradients and the preservation of historic-artistic episodes. This zoning criteria seems to be based more on land speculation, that is, to favor real-estate interests through the definition of volumes and heights permitted, than concerned with responsibly creating the a living environment for 250,000 inhabitants” JUSTE OCAÑA, JULIO: *Granada: Historia y planeamiento en Sobre el planeamiento en la comarca de Granada. Arquitectura Andalucía Oriental*. March 1980. p. 34. However, and at least in these areas, these conditions, with their extreme low density, may have contributed to the preservation of existing buildings because of the low profit their replacement provided.

4. In this sense, see JUSTE OCAÑA, JULIO: *La reforma de Granada de Gallego y Burín (1938-1951)*. Antonio Ubago, editor. Granada, 1979. P. 178; ACALE SANCHEZ, FERNANDO: *Plazas y paseos de Granada: de la remodelación cristiana de los espacios musulmanes a los proyectos de jardines en el ochocientos*. Universidad de Granada. Editorial Atrio. Granada, 2005. P. 481.



IL. 1. Alignment Plan, 1951. Zoning

However, and regardless of the adequacy of these interventions which must be understood within their historical context, the most positive aspect of this Plan was that it corresponded with a clear urban model, one that was organized and planned⁵. Proof of this is the many years it remained applicable, more than 20, and, in our area of study, the zoning laws it applied of the Campo de los Mártires, defining such a low density that it was preserved from development and allowed most of the land to be bought by the City Council over the course of the following years⁶.

THE 1973 REGIONAL PLAN

In 1973 the Master Plan of the Region of Granada, directed by the architect Gabriel Riesco Fernández included the city of Granada and 20 neighboring municipalities. It differentiated two areas: on the one hand, the urban expansion areas which were planned in more detail by a series of partial planning documents, and on the other, the city center, incorporating the alignments and most of the zoning criteria established by the 1951 Plan⁷.

In its building codes (N.2.3.1) the plan defines a series “basic building typologies”, establishing for each the position of the buildings within the lot and then specifying the rest of conditions in the following set of regulations:

- minimum lot size (N.2.3.2, depending on the width of the street).
- lot occupancy (N.2.3.3).
- building height (N.2.3.4, also depending on the width of the street).
- maximum built volume (N.2.3.5, for the blocks within the official alignments defined by the depth of the building and the allowed height).

5. For ÁNGEL ISAC, “Gallego conceived a program based on the critical principles formulated by Ganivet against urban reform, while at the same time striving to modernize a city that still had great problems to solve.” ISAC MARTÍNEZ DE CARVAJAL, ÁNGEL: *Historia urbana de Granada*. Diputación de Granada. Granada, 2007. p. 116.

6. The Carmen de los Mártires was bought by the Granada City Council from its owner, Sor Cristina de la Cruz Arteaga, a few years later, in 1957, when Manuel Sola Rodríguez-Bolívar was the mayor.

7. ISAC MARTÍNEZ DE CARVAJAL, *Historia urbana...* cit., pg. 127.

- use (N.2.3.6, thus differentiating between use and typology).
- hygiene (N.2.3.7).
- aesthetics (N.2.3.8, establishing three types of compositions, of which the first two affect urban elements and ensembles of historic and artistic interest and therefore are subjected to special conditions).

Lastly, Chapter III (Code N.3.4) designates each of the zoning areas into which it divides the city with building types, specifying the volumes allowed and possible uses. Within the Alhambra and its surroundings, the zones and sub-zones are the Historic-Artistic Area 1c (Carmens-intensive for most of the area) and 1d (Carmens-extensive, for the area of the Mártires). In both cases the maximum height is fixed at 2 or 3 storeys, depending on the width of the street; a minimum lot of 400 sq m for the subzone 1c and of 2,500 sq m for subzone 1d, and a lot occupancy of 10% for subzone 1d (IL. 2).



IL. 2. Regional Plan, 1973. Municipality of Granada. Proposed Urban Structure

For the area within the monumental complex of the Alhambra and the Generalife, the plan only indicates “Park of the Alhambra”, giving the area of the meadowlands of the Generalife and upper valley of the Darro River the zoning code 14P “Protected landscape”. This plan, written up at the beginning of the 1970s, uses as its planning principle building typologies, a concept that was at the height of the architectural debate at the time. However, it defines these types from

a generic point of view as to the position of the building within the lot, without considering the singularities of the historic city, for which it defines only a set of composition requirements for the facades, one of the reasons why this plan was harshly criticized with the advent of democracy in Spain⁸.

Another aspect of the 1973 plan that was widely questioned was the road network it proposed⁹, which included an access into the Alhambra through the Darro River valley. However, from a current perspective it does not seem to be oversized, it merely had a rather rigid layout, if we compare it with the “Structure of territorial articulation” defined by the 1998 Granada Metropolitan Area Masterplan¹⁰ (Images 3 and 4).

However, the distribution of Ordinances in the immediate area surrounding the Alhambra had very important consequences. In this sense, in the Campo de los Mártires, Ordinance 1d (Carmens-extensive, which derived from Ordinance XVI- Private green spaces-restricted construction of the previous plan), with, as we have seen, an extreme low density on land that was already owned by the City Council, allowed, on the one hand, the concession of a permit to build a hotel within the gardens of the Carmen in

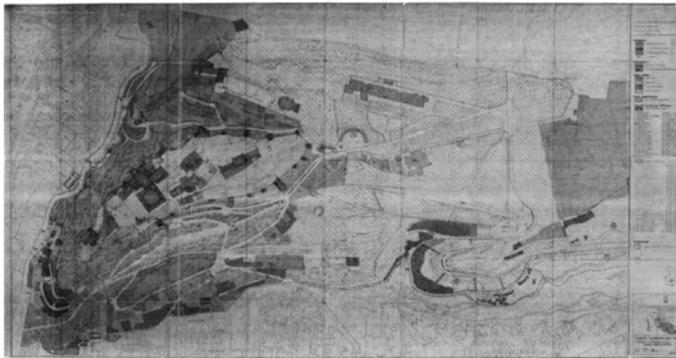
8. In this sense, Pedro Salmerón pointed out: “Let us clarify once and for all that the Master Plan aims at solving ordinance issues (heights, land use, volumes, etc.), and not the city’s problems; Even though it was announced as something good for the city, what it actually addressed was the needs of the modern real-estate market that required more precise definitions and higher dividends...” In coherence with this, the new areas for new developments were classified and given the same typologies as those that existed in the actual city.” SALMERÓN ESCOBAR, P.: *Las tipologías que propone el Plan in Sobre el planeamiento en la comarca de Granada. Arquitectura Andalucía Oriental*. March 1980. P. 88. On their part, BERTOS GARCÍA, CASADO DE AMEZÚA and OLIVERAS CONTRERAS, in their comparison of the typologies proposed by the 1951 and 1973 Plans, point out with regards to the center or historic district that “this area of the city was classified as urban land, the only part of the city where building permits could be given without having to write up a partial development plan; this, along with the lengthy process needed to draw up development plans for the new areas of urban growth, led to the demand of new construction in the area within the historic district.” “Its impact on the city is characterized by strong pressures aimed at urban renewal in the historic district, evidencing the lack of foresight of the 1951 Plan, even leading to the disappearance of traditional housing typologies...” BERTOS GARCÍA, F., CASADO DE AMEZÚA VÁZQUEZ, J. and OLIVERAS CONTRERAS, S.: *Algunos aspectos cuantitativos in Sobre el planeamiento en la comarca de Granada. Arquitectura Andalucía Oriental*. March 1980. P. 50. If these pressures would have been adequately channeled through the refurbishment of existing buildings or their typological replacement, then the plan would have enabled the revitalization of the historic district.

9. As ÁNGEL ISAC points out, “the structural cohesion of the territory that is the alleged goal of the plan, both for the historic district, new developments and the metropolitan region, relied on an oversized road network to which the rest of the urban system was subordinated.” ISAC MARTÍNEZ DE CARVAJAL, A.: *Historia urbana... cit.*, p. 127.

10. In this sense, the same author admits that “despite the many negative aspects of the 1973 Plan, its regional scope pointed in the correct direction regarding the physical planning of the surrounding territory, a much needed aspect in order to control the urban phenomena that occur in the intermediate areas between the city of Granada and the municipalities closest to it.” *Historia urbana... cit.*, pág. 128.



IL. 5. Master Plan, 1985. Classification and categorization



IL. 6. Heritage Plan of the Alhambra and Alijares. Categorization, uses and systems

Despite this, it is only fair to admit that the 1985 Master Plan had a favorable impact in:

[...] the creation of public facilities, which the city badly lacked in 1979". The philosophy behind it was inspired by "the doctrine and international experiences regarding the preservation of historic districts [...]" incorporating "for the first time in the urban planning of the city preservation regulations for architectural heritage assets listed in a broad catalogue, contemplating, at the same time, the need to write up specific plans for different neighborhoods with the aim of creating more efficient tools for the recovery and restoration of the complex and heterogeneous historic center of Granada.¹⁴

THE HERITAGE AND URBAN RENEWAL PLAN OF THE ALHAMBRA AND ALIJARES

When the Spanish Historic Heritage Law 16/1985 of July 25 came into effect, its article 20.1 mandated that all Historic Districts had to have their own specific plans. Given that Granada was declared a Historic

City by Royal Order on December 5, 1929, the City Council began the administrative process in order to write up these Heritage plans (which had already been foreseen in the 1985 Master Plan). The Heritage and Urban Renewal Plan of the Alhambra and Alijares, directed by the architect José Seguí Pérez, was approved in 1989. This plan, the aim of which was to include the area of the Alijares within the boundaries of the Monument due to the new development that had been approved, solved other issues such as visitor access by car and parking. It also included a lot of information and a ample Catalogue of listed assets¹⁵, defining two levels of preservation (comprehensive preservation-Monuments and architectural preservation) with the consideration of Ordinances¹⁶.

However, despite having received the National Urban Planning Prize awarded by the Territory and Urban Planning Institute of the Ministry of Public Works in 1987, the way the plan approaches the contact zone between the city and the monument (the neighborhoods of La Churra-Goméz and Antequeruela) is rather deficient from the point of view of urban planning techniques, due in part to the poor quality of the cartography it is based on (IL. 6). Moreover, it lacked a previous typological study, which led the plan apply to the non-listed buildings the same use and formal determinations expressed in the 1985 Master Plan (extensive closed block, extensive and intensive ensembles of single-family homes), with subtle changes in the floor area ratio, heights and aesthetic regulations, but not regarding lot occupancy (the mandatory maximum occupancy of 60% or 70% in many lots with an area much lower than the minimum established made the materialization of basic housing programs impossible) nor how to measure the heights (in lots set on steep slopes, with the sole exception of the extensive and intensive ensembles of single-family homes for which very generic regulations for building on slopes were provided). Neither does the plan consider the relationship between the

14. ISAC MARTÍNEZ DE CARVAJAL, A.: *Historia urbana...* cit., p. 131.

15. In fact, for the urban area around the Alhambra, it is the same catalogue of listed assets that appears in preliminary drafts of the 1985 Master Plan.

16. SEGUÍ PÉREZ, J.: *Plan Especial de protección y reforma interior de la Alhambra y Alijares*. Consejerías de Obras Públicas y Transportes y de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía. Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Granada. Patronato de la Alhambra. Geometría Monografías. Granada, 1986. Published in the Official Bulletin of Granada # 133 on June 12, 1992.

listed buildings and their level of architectural preservation, the conservation of which was an Ordinance in itself. In these cases, the plan limited itself to allow, in very imprecise terms “construction work to adapt the existing building to the parameters of the specific Ordinance of the area in which it is located”, which also led to indeterminations in the cases in which they were erroneously listed (for example, empty lots considered as such before the approval of the Plan that nevertheless appear as listed assets in it), were demolished due to their ruinous state or in the cases these buildings could be extended.

As for the Catalogue, the dichotomy Comprehensive Preservation and Architectural Preservation seems rather simplistic given the diversity of buildings within the area. The plan is also vague when it comes to regulating the construction allowed in the buildings listed under the category “architectural preservation”, for which it indicates:

[...] construction work to adapt and improve the inhabitation conditions of spaces and their redistribution is permitted, maintaining at all times its structural characteristics and all of the architectural features of the facade.

THE 2001 URBAN MASTER PLAN

This Master Plan, directed by the architect Ricardo Bajo Molina and approved by the Department of Transportation and Public Works of the Andalusian Regional Government on February 9 2001 (BOJA 27 March 6 2001)¹⁷ maintained the validity of the specific heritage plans that were applicable at the time of its approval (those of the Alhambra, the Albaicín and San Matías) with the exception of regulations regarding land use and the floor area ratio, which were established by this new document. In this sense, the 2001 Master Plan, depending on its goals, defines a set of residential categories on urban land, of which the following fall within the area of influence of the specific heritage plans:

- single-family closed residential block,
- single-family detached house,
- multi-family closed residential block,
- multi-family open residential block (only in some areas of the Center Plan),
- multi-family closed residential block with courtyard,
- singular house,

The Master Plan does not analyze the architectural typologies that are typical of the city center nor their correlation with the different categories mentioned, it merely refers to each of the applicable specific heritage plans (Alhambra, Albaicín and San Matías) or those pending approval (Center), to define regulations (alignments, occupancy, height), but specifying that the floor area ratios established by the Master Plan prevail over the rest¹⁸.

The regulations specify for each category that in the event of preservation, restoration, refurbishment or adaptations of buildings, including full renovations, the maximum floor area ratio has to coincide with that of the original building, forbidding the construction of more floors, annexes and lean-tos.

In this sense, the Master Plan assigns the same classification (multi-family closed residential block) to areas that are quite different, such as most of the Center, the contact zone between the Center and the Alhambra, and new expansion areas such as the Camino de Ronda, resulting in the expected disparities between the floor area ratio designated by the Master Plan and the regulations established by each specific heritage plan (IL. 7).

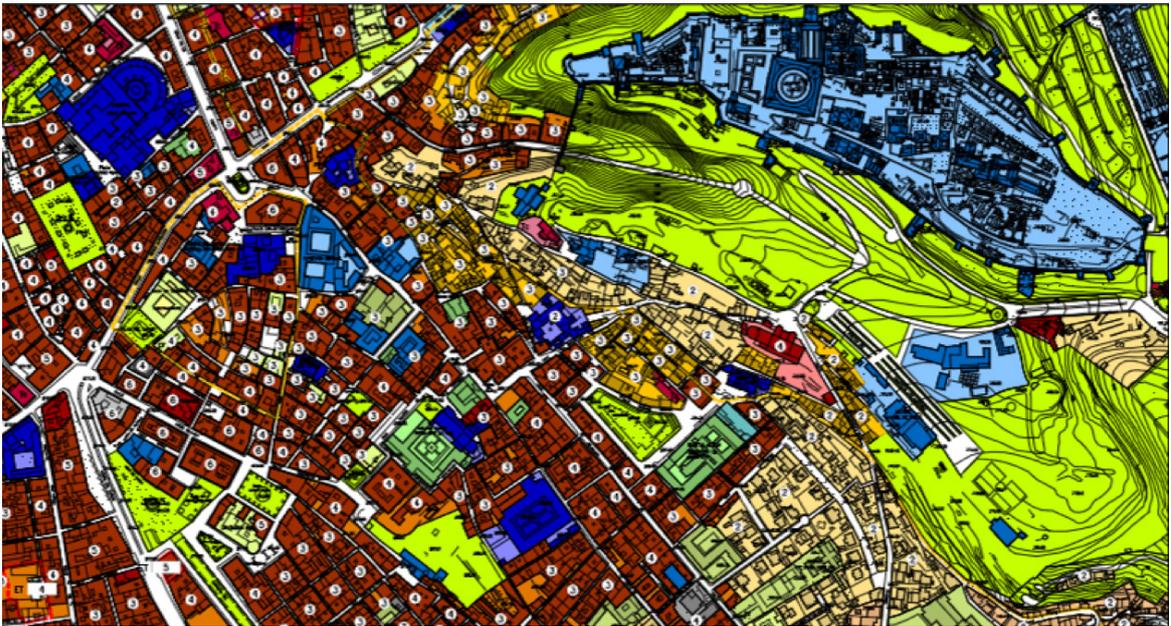
As for the listed buildings, the 2001 Master Plan establishes four levels of preservation, defining the range of interventions permitted in each case (IL. 8):

- Level 1: Monumental Preservation
- Level 2: Comprehensive Preservation
- Level 3: Structural Preservation
- Level 4: Atmospheric Preservation

It maintains the applicability of the different catalogues of listed assets of each of the specific heritage plans that were valid at the time of its approval (Alhambra, Albaicín and San Matías) and it includes the catalogue of the specific plan for the Center, which

¹⁷. Published by the Granada City Council. Delegación de Planificación Urbanística y Obras Municipales. Granada, 2001.

¹⁸. This is mandatory according to our current legislation. Detailed uses and the building codes for consolidated urban areas, along with the elements that require preservation due to their architectural value, are all part of the detailed planning regulations established by urban master plans, as article art. 10.2 of the LOUA points out. Specific heritage plans can only change optional aspects of planning (art. 14.3).



IL. 7. Master Plan, 2001. Categorization and Physical Layout



IL. 8. Master Plan, 2001. Listed buildings and assets

was pending approval at the time. Therefore, the Catalogue of the Master Plan itself only includes the assets that were outside the Historic District.

All in all, this Master Plan was mainly preoccupied with making land available for new developments (Campus de la Salud, the land between the ring road and La Chana neighborhood) or on solving very specific situations within the city (the Alsina-Graells bus station, the Neptuno pools, the Los Carmenes Stadium) rather than tackling the problems of the Historic District, leaving this task to the each specific heritage plan¹⁹.

19. As ÁNGEL ISAC points out, "in contrast with the 1985 Master Plan, which meant a radical change regarding all aspects of city planning, the new plan is less innovative, focusing on correcting some of the rigidities of previous urban management... As for the preservation of heritage assets, the plan basically limits itself to the incorporation of the determinations of applicable specific plans along with other aspects established by the Plan for the Center before its final approval in 2002. In order to promote the restoration of heritage assets, the plan proposes two paths, the efficiency of can be appreciated in the positive results seen in other cities: the concession of more favorable land use permits and fiscal benefits for interventions on listed buildings." ISAC MARTÍNEZ DE CARVAJAL, A.: *Historia urbana...* cit., p. 145. However, the two paths the author mentions, which are included in the Master Plan, have not been effective, because the former has merely recognized existing built areas in refurbished buildings and the latter has not had its reflection in the corresponding fiscal code.

ALHAMBRA HERITAGE PRESERVATION PLAN

The last preservation plan to be submitted for approval has been the Alhambra Heritage Preservation Plan, directed by the architect Juan Carlos García de los Reyes and sponsored by the Council of the Alhambra and Generalife. This plan is currently being analyzed by the administration and is pending approval by the consulting body of the Council²⁰. Within Part 5 Chapter E of its report this plan includes “Studies for the understanding of the urban structure”, dedicated to urban morphology and building typologies, listing different categories (single-family homes, multi-family residential blocks and singular buildings) with their typologies and subtypes (IL. 9). The building typologies are represented in the graphical part of the document, where the characteristics of each is described (IL. 10).

The plan defines the detailed planning of the sector by assigning these different categories (defined by the Master Plan and including cave residences and the cave house) and the definition of regulations (interior and exterior alignments, as well as heights, distinguishing between those that exist and those that change) (IL. 11).

In its codes, the plan specifies that the subjective distribution of land use is the one established by the Master Plan, while the objective distribution of land use is defined by the Heritage Plan. This can lead to discrepancies that, nevertheless, cannot be blamed on either of the plans, but on the planning legislation that regulates both.

As for the listed assets, it establishes the following levels of preservation:

- Level 1A BIC (Monuments and historical sites)
- Level 1B (equivalent to monuments)
- Level 2 (Unique value)
- Level 3 (Typological value)
- Level 4 (Generic value)

The list includes heraldic elements, gardens, archaeological sites and ethnological heritage, as well as the protected areas around Monuments and historical sites and the assets listed in previous catalogues no longer considered as such. The dossier of each listed asset includes the description of the elements that must be preserved and the uses and construction work recommended, including a special section dedicated to their typological organization. In the cases in which an asset appears in different lists (for example,

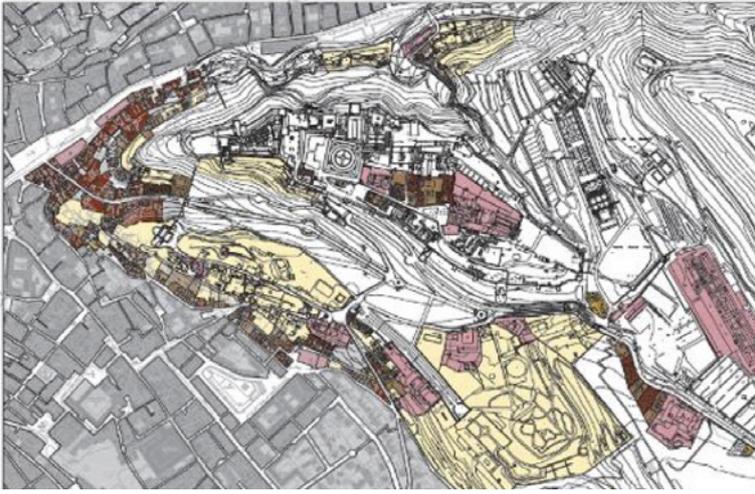
buildings, heraldic elements and gardens) its inclusion is systematized in such a way that there are as many different dossiers as elements that appear in the different lists.

CALIFICACIONES	TIPOLOGIAS	SUBTIPOS
RESIDENCIAL UNIFAMILIAR	UNIFAMILIAR AISLADA UNIFAMILIAR AISLADA-CARMEN UNIFAMILIAR EN MANZANA CERRADA	1- Entre medianeras 2- Con varias fachadas 3- Con jardín delantero o menor 4- Casa patio
	CUEVA	1- Hábitat cueva 2- Casa cueva
RESIDENCIAL PLURIFAMILIAR	PLURIFAMILIAR COLECTIVO	1- Una fachada con patio 2- Una fachada sin patio 3- Varias fachadas con patio 4- Varias fachadas sin patio 5- Casa Patio Colectiva
EDIFICACIÓN SINGULAR	EDIFICACIÓN SINGULAR RELIGIOSA EDIFICACIÓN SINGULAR HOTELERA EDIFICACIÓN SINGULAR CULTURAL EDIFICACIÓN SINGULAR INSTITUCIONAL	

IL. 9. Alhambra Heritage Preservation Plan. List of categories, typologies and subtypes

In short and pending a more in-depth study, this Plan seems to be a correct document, technically speaking. The only issue seems to be the discrepancies between the subjective and the objective distribution of land, which, if remedied, could help solve existing problems such as the definition of uses and accesses into the monument. These problems should be solved in the upcoming Plan currently being written up by the technical personnel of the Council of the Alhambra.

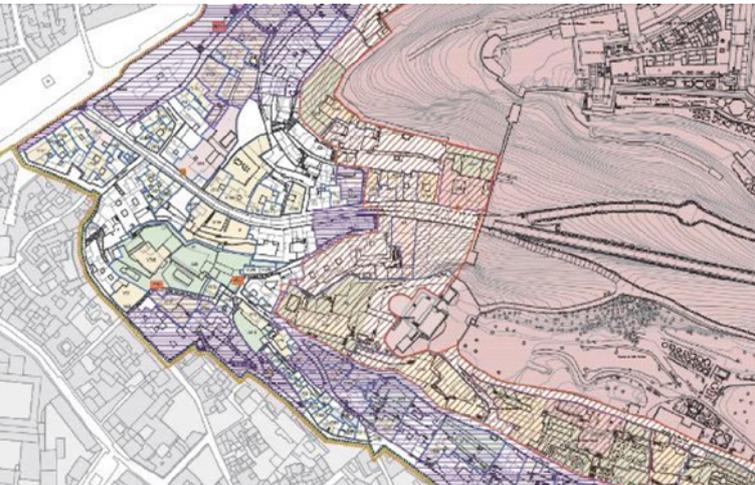
²⁰. This plan was written up, in part, due to the obsolescence of the 1989 Plan while also, as a result of the change of status of the Alhambra and Generalife, since it was no longer considered a “historic district” but a “monument” (Decree 107/2004 March 23), and to legislative changes both at urban planning level (LOUA 7/2002, December 17) and at heritage protection level (LPHA 14/2007, November 26) as pointed out in the Management Plan of the Alhambra approved by the Council of the Alhambra and Generalife in 2007, drawn up by the architect PEDRO SALMERÓN ESCOBAR.



IL. 10. Alhambra Heritage Preservation Plan. Building typologies



IL. 11. Alhambra Heritage Preservation Plan. Physical layout and alignments



IL. 12. Alhambra Heritage Preservation Plan. Listed buildings and assets and areas of influence of cultural heritage

CONCLUSIONS

The first plans that we have approached in this study, the 1951 and 1973 Plans, lack studies regarding the typological characteristics that have given shape to the historic city. They limited themselves to zoning the city and established regulations that were more or less in accord with the existing buildings.

The plans that followed, the 1985 Master Plan and those that came afterwards, were much more preservationist, achieving this goal by producing ample catalogues of listed assets, but assigning each lot with rather arbitrary building categories that were not based on typological studies. A master plan cannot accurately define by means of a set of categories or specific regulations the wide range of situations that occur in a historic city, that is, as we have seen, the result of successive developments over the course of history on a specific territory.

In this sense, it is telling that the 2001 Master Plan (and the 2002 Heritage Plan for the Center that derived from it) categorizes with the same specific use (multi-family closed residential blocks) large sections of the Albaicín, the vast majority of the historic district, the contact area between the Alhambra sector and the Center, and recent developments such as Camino de Ronda, with their obvious historical and typological differences, thus repeating the same and widely criticized errors produced by the zoning laws fostered by the *developmentalist* plans of the 1960s and 1970s.

This problem is made worse by the lack of coordination between master plans and the determinations they establish (such as land use distribution) and specific heritage plans for historic districts and their own determinations (such as heights and occupancy rates). The heritage plans for historic districts are the tools in charge of defining the planning conditions of the historic city, as our heritage legislation establishes. In this sense, the new Alhambra Plan (like the 1990 Albaicín Plan), includes, along with the repertoire of typologies proposed by the regulations, a precise graphic definition of mandatory alignments and heights, even though the lack of correspondence between the written regulations and the graphic descriptions is questionable.

Nevertheless, all of the plans we have studied lack a clear correlation between typological studies, which are carried out during the planning information phase (despite being included at a later stage in the Regulations) and the planning parameters of lot

occupancy, height and floor area ratio which, as we have seen, are detailed planning tools and are determined by regulations.

The Plan for the Center of Granada contained a proposal along these terms in its draft, but in the final document this was reduced to a mere formal-compositional repertoire of facades. Besides, there is an added problem: planning legislation establishes that Master Plans are the tools in charge of defining subjective land use distributions, which may come into conflict with the objective land use distributions established by specific heritage plans.

Therefore, a detailed lot by lot definition is needed—or at least one block by block—regarding building characteristics and planning parameters (lot occupancy, height and floor area ratio), basing planning determinations on predominant building typologies. If necessary, planning legislation should be changed in order to give this power to preservation plans (maybe by dedicating a specific chapter of this legislation to the specific heritage plans for historic districts, in order for these plans to be able to establish detailed building classifications and the public facilities needed within an area). However, at the same time, it is necessary to link up the determinations of the different specific heritage plans as well as with those of the city of which they are part, an effort that is being made at present regarding the issue of mobility, with the plans that are being written up for the Albaicín-Sacromonte and the Alhambra Sector.